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PROCEEDINGS

1960

National Convention

SOCIALIST PARTY -

**social democratic
federation**

may 28-30

washington, d.c.

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PRICE: 50 ¢

SOCIALIST PARTY - SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION

Room 516

303 Fourth Avenue

New York 10, New York

MINUTES OF THE 1960 NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY-SOCIAL
DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION, WASHINGTON, D.C., MAY 28, 29, and 30, 1960.

Saturday, May 28, 1960.

The Convention was opened at 10:30 a.m. by National Vice-Chairman
Darlington Hoopes with comments on the current political scene.

Greetings and announcements were given by Comrade Milton Zatinsky on
behalf of the host Local, Washington, D.C.

The report of the Preliminary Credentials Committee (the National
Committee) was given by the National Secretary, Irwin Suall.

MOTION: by Morris Polin. To seat all delegates whose status is not
in question. CARRIED.

The Convention Rules, as proposed by the National Committee, were con-
sidered ad seriatum and adopted as amended, with the exception of Rule
4, dealing with the method of election of the National Committee and
Alternates.

MOTION: by Bill Briggs. That delegates elected by Locals organized in
the past two years shall be seated as full delegates. CARRIED.

ELECTION OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE, by unanimous ballot.

Seymour Kopilow
Milton Zatinsky
David McReynolds
Sylvia Aranov
Earl Herrick

AGENDA. MOTION: by Morris Polin. That the Convention elect a
Committee for Nominations to the National Committee. RULED: Out of order.

MOTION: by Don Thomas. That the Convention discuss recent incidents in
San Francisco involving party members and YPSL's demonstrating before the
hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee. REFERRED: To
the Organization and Finance Committee.

AGENDA ADOPTED as amended.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS OF THE DAY:

Saturday -	Chairman:	Darlington Hoopes
	V. Ch.:	Robert Alexander
Sunday -	Chairman:	Milton Zatinsky
	V. Ch.:	Samuel H. Friedman
Monday -	Chairman:	Caleb Smith
	V. Ch.:	Bill Briggs

Tellers Appointed by Chairman: Lillian Mirmak, Leo Leopold, Nate
Adowsky, Art Kunkin.

RECESSED for lunch at 12:30 Noon.

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RECONVENED at 1:30 p.m. by Chairman, Darlington Hoopes.

Report of Credentials Committee.

Unanimous report of Committee given by Committee Chairman, Milton Zatinsky.

MOTION: from Committee. That where Locals have not filled their apportioned delegations with persons who have held continuous membership for the past two years, observers designated as "observers-to-fill-delegation" shall be seated as full delegates, provided that they have been members for the past six months.

The National Secretary reported that approximately 14 delegates seemed to fall under this motion; that approximately 71 uncontested full delegates had thus far registered.

Speakers:	McReynolds	S. Kopilow
	Papanek	Cypin
	Polin	N. Thomas
	Mendelson	Drews
	Miller	Briggs
	S. Steinsapir	Friedman
	G. Aranov	Peters
	Addis	Smith

MOTION CARRIED.

MOTION: by Committee. That the New York delegation may allow alternates to fill vacancies existing in the delegation of one voting unit with persons elected by another voting unit in the Convention Delegate elections held in New York.

MOTION CARRIED.

Sergeant-at-Arms appointed: Joe Davidson.

NOMINATIONS FOR CONVENTION COMMITTEES. The delegates named accepted nomination.

Platform and Resolutions

N. Thomas
Drews
Goldner
Hoopes
Briggs
Smith
Tucker
Alexander
Sibley
Papanek
Friedman
Mendelson
Rinne
Addis
Tepper
McReynolds
Choden

Press and Education

Singer
Logan
R. Pakalns
Mendelson
Kunkin
Weitzmann
J. Bernstein
Buchele
Siitonen
Green
Papanek
Friedman

Special Program

Alexander
Kopilow
Cypin
Addis
Sibley
Papanek
Zatinsky
Singer

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Constitution

Hoopes, Jr.
Bloom
Williger
Fleischman
Peters
Cypin
Girkins
Smith

Permanent Name

Polin
Schwartz
G..Aranov
E. Herrick
Hoopes, Jr.
Albright
Stempa
Ehret

Young People's Socialist
League

Yamada
Bone
Jacobson
Garber
J. Suall
Tussing
Burnett
Drews
N. Ahearn

Organization and Finance

S. Steinsapir	J. Suall
Stempa	Buchele
M. Wohl	Sadowsky
Weinrib	

The election for this Committee was uncontested and the nominees declared elected. No objection.

RESOLUTIONS ON PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

Resolutions for and against a 1960 Presidential Campaign were read by Caleb Smith. The Report of the Pre-Convention Committee was given by Seymour Kopilow.

MOTION: by Caleb Smith. To limit discussion to 10 minutes per speaker with 15 minutes allowed for summaries on each side of the question.

SUBSTITUTE MOTION: by Stan Ovshinsky. To limit to 5 minutes and 10 minutes, respectively.

SUBSTITUTE MOTION CARRIED.

RULING: That discussion shall be directed to the question, "We shall not conduct a 1960 Presidential Campaign." The resolutions are to serve only as argument.

Speakers:	Addis	Tussing	Albright
	N. Thomas	McReynolds	Weinrib
	Harrington	Shute	Shelley
	Zatinsky	Weitzmann	Briggs
	Mendelson	Klaric	Dombrow
	Friedman	Draper	Smith
	G. Aranov	J. Bernstein	Schwartz
	Cypin		

MOTION: That a roll call vote be taken. CARRIED.

ROLL CALL VOTE on the question "The SP-SDF shall not conduct a 1960 Presidential Campaign."

In favor of the Motion:

Buchele	Yamada	Eckenrode	Longenecker
Hoopes, Jr.	Garber	D. Thomas	Alexander
Polin	Drews	Gutenkauf	Weinrib
Mendelson	R. Ahearn	N. Ahearn	Meier

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Roll call vote continued:

<u>In favor of Motion</u>	<u>Opposed to Motion</u>	<u>Abstentions</u>
B. Suall	Bolitzer	Draper
Shelley	Bone	Addis
Kopilow	Sadowsky	S. Steinsapir
K. Calkins	N. Thomas	Koeppicus
Green	McReynolds	Jacobson
I. Suall	R. Pakalns	Craig
Singer	Fleischman	Burnette
Goldner	Stedelli	Shute
Nash	A. Pakalns	Stempa
Melhado	Tucker	Clevenger
Ehret	Rosenhaft	
R. Dombrow	Fried	
Bieler	Henes	
Weitzmann	Mirmak	
Wollod	Oppenheimer	
Choden	Rinne	
Cypin	Zatinsky	
Tepper	H. Bernstein	
Fullerton	J. Suall	
Tussing	Bahti	
Sibley	Logan	
R. Leopold	L. Leopold	
J. Bernstein	Rosenman	
	Hoopes	
	Williger	
	J. Herrick	
	E. Herrick	
	Siitonen	
	Albright	
	Briggs	
	Sapiro	
	Kunkin	
	Friedman	
	Papanek	
	Seldin	
	Kohn	
	G. Aranov	
	S. Aranov	
	V. Steinsapir	
	Bloom	
	Piakowski	
	Lieberman	
	Girkins	
	M. Wohl	
	S. Wohl	
	Kumer	
	Smith	
	Ovshinsky	
	Peters	
	Schwartz	
	Kaufsky	

MOTION CARRIED 62 - 28-10

Explanation of vote of abstention on 1960 Campaign:

"I abstain because although I agree a national campaign should not be conducted in 1960, I feel that such a decision must be expressed in a resolution explaining the reasons for the decision. The procedures of the convention did not make possible the introduction of such a resolution. The resolution should pose the alternative of continuing activity in various areas of social struggle while at the same time maintaining a perspective of our party as a political alternative in the American community, until such time as a mass labor party is organized." Seymour Steinsapir

Herman Singer wishes to be associated with the statement as an explanation of why he voted against a 1960 campaign.

National Secretary Irwin Suall read Greetings to the Convention from a number of fraternal organizations and parties. Those sending greetings were: British Labour Party
Bulgarian Social Democratic Party in Exile
Cooperative Commonwealth Federation of Canada
Dutch Labor Party

Estonian Socialist Party In Exile
International Jewish Labor Bund
International Union of Social Democratic Teachers
International Union of Socialist Youth
Latvian Social Democratic Workers Party
Malta Labour Party
Mapai Israel Labour Party
National Liberation Party of Costa Rica
The New Zealand Labour Party
Latin American Secretariat of the Socialist International
Lithuanian Social Democratic Party in Exile
Praja Socialist Party
Socialist Party of Argentina
Democratic Socialist Party of Argentina
Social Democratic Party of Denmark
Social-Democratic Party of Hungary in Exile
Social Democratic Party of Iceland
Social Democratic Party of Italy
Socialist League of Greece
Socialist Party of Austria
Socialist Union of Central-Eastern Europe
Spanish Socialist Labor Party in Exile
Swedish Social Democratic Labor Party
Vietnam Socialist Party
World Union of Zionist Socialist Parties
Marion Ciepley and Irwin Rappaport, I.A.M. members
Samuel Oshry

Norman Thomas spoke of the memory of Comrade Albert Goldman.

Albert Goldman was a beloved and respected figure in the democratic socialist movement. A fighter all his life for social justice, he never hesitated to place the dictates of his conscience ahead of all other considerations. The SP-SDF was honored by his association with it to his last days. We deeply grieve his passing and pledge ourselves to work steadfastly for the ideals by which he lived.

RESOLUTION of Greetings to the Spanish Socialists in Exile.

Whereas, United States aid to the present Spanish regime has been of prime importance in keeping in power the dictatorship of Generalissimo Franco, and,

Whereas, on his recent visit to Spain, President Eisenhower was pictured warmly embracing the dictator, and,

Whereas, the friendship of the United States for Franco, Hitler's ally in World War II, makes a mockery of the United States' advocacy of democracy, and,

Whereas, the United States' Spanish policy serves to disillusion Spanish Socialists and other democrats and to strengthen the Communists,

Therefore, let it be resolved that we demand that the United States forthwith end its program of political support for and military aid to the Franco regime, and,

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Be it further resolved that our Party and all of its local units take every opportunity to educate, demonstrate and use all of its resources in the fight against Spanish Franco tyranny and, finally,

Be it further resolved, that the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation goes on record once again expressing its solidarity with the Spanish Socialists and other democrats both inside Spain and in exile who are valiantly carrying on the fight for the reestablishment of a democratic regime and freedom for the long-suffering Spanish people.

ADJOURNED at 7:00 p.m. for a Dinner held at the 2400 Hotel and attended by over four hundred persons. The dinner heard addresses by Norman Thomas and Erich Fromm, and received fraternal Greetings from Carl Hamilton, National Secretary of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation of Canada.

Results of the Committee elections were announced at the time of the dinner and are as follows:

Platform and Resolutions Committee

Norman Thomas
Darlington Hoopes
Bill Briggs
Robert Tucker
Bob Alexander
Mulford Sibley
Ernst Papanek
Sam Friedman
Dave Rinne
David McReynolds

Special Program Committee

Robert Alexander
Seymour Kopilow
Jack Cypin
Mulford Sibley
Milt Zatinsky

YPSL Committee

T. Robert Yamada
Phyllis Jacobson
Joan Suall
Arlon Tussing
Jim Burnett

Press and Education Committee

Herman Singer
Rudolph Pakalns
Saul Mendelson
Walter Weitzmann
Julie Bernstein
Harry Siitonen
Samuel Friedman

Constitution Committee

Darlington Hoopes, Jr.
Ernest Fleischman
Hans Peters
Jack Cypin
Caleb Smith

Permanent Name Committee

Morris Polin
George Aranov
Carl Schwartz
Darlington Hoopes, Jr.
Elsie Ehret

MOTION: From Committee. To strike Art. XIV; renumber Art. XV as Art. XIV.
CARRIED

MOTION: To take Art IV, Sec. 2, from table. CARRIED.

Sunday, May 29, 1960.

Convened at 10:30 a.m. by Milton Zatinsky, Chairman.

MOTION: To hear report of the Constitution Committee. CARRIED.

Report by Darlington Hoopes, Jr., Committee Chairman.

Proposed Changes:

Art. II, Sec. 6. Change wording from "is" to "shall be." PASSED

MOTION; by Irwin Suall. To postpone consideration of Art. IV, Sec. 2, until immediately preceding the nominations for the National Committee. CARRIED.

Proposed changes (continued).

Add as Art. VI, Sec. 1, "The National Chairman shall be elected by the Convention by majority vote." Renumber remaining sections of Article. PASSED.

Art. VI, (New) Sec. 3 (b), "The NC may elect one or more vice-chairmen from its membership and may elect such other officers as it deems necessary." PASSED.

Art. VII, Sec. 1(a), Change numbers to 150 maximum, 75 minimum. Speakers: Kopflow, Tussing, Siitonen, Smith, Ovshinsky, Cypin. DEFEATED.

MOTION: by Arlon Tussing. Strike from Art. VII, Sec. 3, "shall be members of the Party in the states which they represent, except as provided in Section 1(b), and"; amend "two consecutive years" to "one year immediately".

Speakers:	Tussing	R. Pakalns
	McReynolds	Cypin
	Kopilow	Addis
	Polin	Mendelson
	Williger	Peters
	S. Steinsapir	

1st part of Amendment: DEFEATED.

2nd part of Amendment: DEFEATED, 39 to 39, Standing vote.

MOTION: by Morris Polin. "That Art VII, Sec. 3, last substantive clause, be amended to read, 'eighteen months immediately'." CARRIED.

Speakers: E. Herric, Friedman, N. Thomas. CARRIED by voice vote.

MOTION; from Committee. To strike Art. XIV; renumber Art. XV as Art. XIV. CARRIED

MOTION: To take Art IV, Sec. 2, from table. CARRIED.

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Recommendation of Committee: "The National Committee shall consist of the national chairman, twenty members elected by the regular national conventions of the Party and one additional member who shall be elected by the YPSL and who shall likewise be a member of the Party. In voting for the National Committee, each delegate shall cast thirteen votes. The twenty nominees receiving the highest number of votes shall be elected, provided, however, that no more than seven members of the National Committee shall come from any one state. No paid employee of the national organization shall be a member or alternate of the National Committee."

SUBSTITUTE MOTION; by McReynolds. Substitute for the whole. "The National Committee shall consist of the national chairman, twenty members elected by the regular national conventions of the Party and one additional member who shall be elected by the YPSL and who shall likewise be a member of the Party. Members of the N.C. shall be elected by the Ware System of preferential balloting, with no more than seven members coming from any one state."

Procedural Motion: by Saul Mendelson. That the four substantive issues involved, size, method of election, limitation on members per state, and staff membership, be discussed and voted upon separately. CARRIED.

RULING: That the order of discussion shall be (1) size, (2) method of election, (3) state limitation, and (4) staff eligibility.

Size of National Committee

MOTION: That the size of the NC shall be 20 members in addition to the National Chairman and the YPSL representative. CARRIED.

Method of Election of National Committee

Committee speaker: D. Hoopes, Jr.

Speakers:	Cypin	Hoppes
	Smith	Benson
	S. Steinsapir	E. Herrick
	Mendelson	J. Herrick
	Sibley	Tussing

Summary for Substitute: McReynolds

MOTION: That the Ware System of preferential balloting be used. CARRIED, 50-34.

MOTION: by Morris Polin. To suspend the order of business and elect a Nominations Committee. CARRIED.

MOTION: That the Committee consist of five members. CARRIED.

NOMINATIONS FOR Nominations Committee. The following accepted nomination.

S. Kopilow
B. Miller
H. Peters
W. Weitzmann
C. Smith

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MOTION: To elect by acclamation. DEFEATED.

Further nominations: None forthcoming.

MOTION: To postpone consideration until afternoon session. CARRIED.

Limitation of members per state.

MOTION: That no more than seven members or alternates of the National Committee shall be from the same state. DEFEATED.

Eligibility of staff to serve on the National Committee.

MOTION: That paid employees of the national organization shall be ineligible for membership on the National Committee. DEFEATED.

Art. VII, Sec. 2, adopted as amended: "The National Committee shall consist of the national chairman, twenty members elected by the regular conventions of the Party and one additional member who shall be elected by the YPSL and who shall likewise be a member of the Party. Members of the NC shall be elected by the Ware System of preferential balloting."

RECESSED FOR LUNCH at 2:30 p.m.

RECONVENED at 3:30 p.m. by Chairman Milton Zatinsky.

GREETINGS from Comrade Vaclav Majer of the Socialist Union of Central Eastern Europe and of the Czechoslovakian Social Democratic Party in Exile.

MOTION: That the 1960 Convention of the SP-SDF expresses its solidarity with its socialist comrades in Central Eastern Europe. CARRIED.

GREETINGS by Comrade Henk Eysink from the Dutch Labor Party.

RECOGNITION of the presence at the Convention of H. L. Mitchell, President of the National Agricultural Workers Union, AFL-CIO.

REPORT of the PLATFORM AND RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE, by Norman Thomas, Committee Chairman.

Platform

Introduction

Adopted Unanimously.

Foreign Policy

Minority Report of the Committee, by Mulford Sibley.

MOTION: That the following be added to the foreign policy section of the Platform:

"Because we believe that modern war and preparations for war do not achieve any objectives which democratic socialists could approve, and, moreover, utterly contradict socialist ethical conceptions, we advocate that the United States announce a program of progressive unilateral disarmament, unless very substantial progress toward multilateral disarmament can be achieved within the next year. We

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should invite all nations to send observers to check on our unilateral disarmament. We should abolish all espionage services.

When such a program of unilateral initiative in disarmament was announced and begun there could be no doubts in the minds of the uncommitted peoples of the world who was the force for peace. Neither could such a policy escape the attention of the peoples of the Soviet bloc. Under this pressure of world opinion and because of its need for greater capital accumulation, the Soviet Union would probably be forced to abandon its militaristic policies, and the armaments race could be transformed into a race for competitive disarmament. Under this policy we believe the need for national defense against aggression would decline. However, an indispensable program for organized non-violent resistance should accompany any unilateral disarmament, and it is, indeed, with all its risks and limitations, the only effective form of national defense and the only method compatible with socialist humanitarianism under modern conditions.

We call upon comrades in other countries to advocate similar action in their nations and refuse to cooperate with their governments in war preparations for war."

MOTION: To limit speakers to three for and three against this amendment.
CARRIED.

Speakers:	<u>For</u>	<u>Against</u>
	Erich Fromm	Mike Harrington
	Dave McReynolds	Caleb Smith
	Dale Drews	Bob Alexander

MOTION DEFEATED 60 - 25 - 12.

Speakers on Foreign Policy Section: Norman Thomas, Max Shachtman, Vaclav Majer, Marty Oppenheimer.

MOTION: To table Foreign Policy Section until further report from Committee. DEFEATED.

In the course of their discussion, comrades Shachtman, and Oppenheimer made certain suggestions for revision of this section. Comrade Thomas agreed to incorporate their substance into an addition to the section. There was no objection to this procedure.

Further speaker: Stan Ovshinsky. DEFEATED.

AMENDMENTS: by Sam Friedman.

1. Amend "In seeking to get Soviet agreement to support U.N. action looking toward disarmament in the Middle East," to "In seeking U.N. action looking toward disarmament in the Middle East." DEFEATED.

2. Change in one instance "the real China" to "Communist China." ACCEPTED by the Committee.

Speakers to these Amendments: N. Thomas, S. Friedman, and Max Dombrow.

AMENDMENT: by Morris Polin. In discussion of Middle East, add: "The U.S. should be a party to a solution of the Arab refugee problem with the cooperation of the U.N., Israel, and the Arab nations." CARRIED.

AMENDMENT: by Mulford Sibley. "To strike 'atomic' from 'The SP-SDF is unalterably opposed to the atomic rearmament of a united or divided Germany.'" CARRIED

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AMENDMENT: by Robb Tucker. To strike "without birth control," from the opening sentence of the section, "The explosion of populations without birth control." DEFEATED.

AMENDMENT: by Mike Shute. In discussion of the role of the United Nations add: "Our present imperfect U.N. is valuable as a place where nations can talk instead of fight and in its welfare agencies, yet because its character is determined by the two powerful blocs which dominate it, it cannot adequately serve the great cause of peace." DEFEATED.

AMENDMENT: by Arlon Tussing. In 3(b), following "In giving moral and economic support to peoples emerging from colonialism or domestic tyrann add "and in giving moral and political support to struggles of still subject peoples for liberty and self-determination in the 'free world' as well as in the Communist world." CARRIED.

AMENDMENT: by Arlon Tussing. In 3(b), following "It means opposing racism and apartheid in South Africa by ending our subsidy to that government through the unrestricted purchase of gold," add "and it means that our proposals for European disengagement must have as one of their objectives the self-determination of the Russian dominated countries in Eastern Europe." CARRIED.

MOTION: To approve the foreign policy section of the Platform without prejudice to the pending further report of the Committee. CARRIED.

MOTION: To take from the table the motion on the Nominations Committee. CARRIED.

MOTION: To reconsider the election of a Nominations Committee. CARRIED.

Speakers: Mendelson Briggs
Shachtman McReynolds
Draper E. Herrick
Ovshinsky M. Polin
Tucker

MAIN MOTION: That a Nominations Committee be elected. DEFEATED.

RECESSED for dinner at 8:30 p.m.

RECONVENED at 9:40 p.m. by Chairman Milton Zatinsky.

Further consideration of Platform.

AMENDMENT: by Paul Albright, on unemployment. MOTION: TO ACCEPT in substance and refer to committee. CARRIED.

Speakers: Draper and Hill.

MOTION: To recommit the Civil Rights section for consultation with Norman Hill, specifically to add references to housing in the North. CARRIED.

Speakers: Friedman, Drews, and Weinrib.

MOTION: by Lieberman. To postpone consideration of section on political realignment until after consideration of resolutions on that item. CARRIED

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AMENDMENT: by Draper. To delete paragraph in labor discussion which reads:

"We support laws that would require disclosure of union funds and of labor relations expenditures by management; laws that would set limits upon trusteeship; laws that would provide for the right of appeal to the courts where the union appeals process is inordinately prolonged; laws which would guarantee free elections within the unions. We also propose the concept of a 'reserved powers' approach. Where an international union is found to have voluntarily established adequate guarantees for rights designated in a national labor policy, it should be free of any legal obligations which might be applied to unions refusing to take such steps on their own. The impact of the law should be in the direction of encouraging voluntary union creation of democratic structures, with intervention confined to the minority of crooked and undemocratic unions."

Speakers: Draper
Harrington
Henes
Addis
Smith
Stuart
Briggs

Miller
Cypin
G. Aranov
Peters
Friedman
Oppenheimer
Rosenhaft

SUBSTITUTE AMENDMENT: by Caleb Smith. To amend paragraph to read:

"We believe that legislation has a positive role to play in helping the democratic forces within the American labor movement. The impact of the law should be in the direction of encouraging voluntary union creation of democratic structures, with intervention confined to the minority of crooked and undemocratic unions. We also propose the concept of a 'reserved powers' approach. Where an international union is found to have voluntarily established adequate guarantees for rights designated in a national labor policy, it should be free of any legal obligations which might be applied to unions refusing to take such steps on their own. However, we support laws in the absence of appropriate action by the union which would require disclosure of union funds and of labor relations expenditures by management; that would set limits upon trusteeship; that would provide for the right of appeal to the courts where the union appeals process is inordinately prolonged; and which would guarantee free elections with the unions."

This amendment ACCEPTED by the Committee.

Vote on Draper MOTION TO DELETE; DEFEATED

GREETINGS from Comrade Emmanuel Scherer of the Jewish Labor Bund..

NOMINATIONS for National Chairman: Darlington Hoopes elected by acclamation.

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MOTION: by Bob Alexander. That the Constitutional provision for two years continuous membership in the Party as a qualification for membership in the National Committee be suspended for this Convention and that, for this Convention, the qualification be set at 15 months.

SUBSTITUTE MOTION: That the requirement be set at one year for this convention.

SUBSTITUTE MOTION: DEFEATED.

MOTION: CARRIED.

MOTION; by McReynolds. That Erich Fromm and William Davidon be exempt from this qualification. CARRIED.
Comrade Ben Williger asked to be recorded against this motion.

MINIATURES for members of the National Committee. The following accepted nomination:

David Rinne, Penna.	Caleb Smith, Rhode Island
Irwin Suall, New York	Walter Weitzmann, Ohio
Seymour Steinsapir, New York	Morris Polin, Illinois
Stan Ovshinsky, Michigan	Henry Addis, New York
T. R. Yamada, Michigan	D. Hoopes, Jr., Penna.
Sam Friedman, New York	Leon Dennen, New York
Milt Zatinsky, Wash. D.C.	Herman Benson, New York
Morris Stempa, New Jersey	Max Shachtman, New York
George Arancov, New York	Elsie Ehret, New York
Ernst Papanek, New York	Erich Fromm, New York
Seymour Kopilow, New York	Mitchell Loeb, New York
Julie Bernstein, Mass.	S. Mendelson, Illinois
Dale Drews, Illinois	Hans Peters, Penna.
Jack Cypin, New York	Max Weinrib, Illinois
Bill Briggs, Calif.	Fanny Simon, New York
Bob Alexander, New Jersey	Bob Koeppicus, New York
Dave McReynolds, New York	Nate Sadowsky, New York
Rudy Pakalns, New York	Emil Bromberg, New York

Continuation of Report of PLATFORM AND RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE.

MOTION: by Jack Cypin. To reconsider action on labor legislation section. DEFEATED.

MOTION: by Caleb Smith. To revise section on Agriculture to incorporate a resolution which he will submit to the Committee. CARRIED.

MOTION: by Caleb Smith. The Convention adopts the Platform as submitted and amended, with the provision that the sections on Housing and Planning, Agriculture and Foreign Policy shall be revised by the Committee in line with suggestions offered during the debate. CARRIED.

MOTION: by Erich Fromm. The Resolution on Latin America shall be discussed during tomorrow's sessions. CARRIED.

REPORT of COMMITTEE ON PRESS AND EDUCATION given by Rudy Pakalns.

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MOTION: by Norman Thomas. That the Resolutions on Latin America, which shall be discussed tomorrow at the Convention, Economic Foreign Aid, and Migratory Workers, shall be referred to the National Committee with instructions to print them with the platform. CARRIED.

MOTION: by Norman Thomas. That the Resolutions on Spain and the San Francisco Riots be approved in substance and referred to the National Committee for editorial revision and implementation. CARRIED.

RESOLUTION on Algeria. Read to the Convention by Mendelson.

MOTION: To approve in substance and refer to the National Committee. CARRIED.

ADJOURNED at 2:00 a.m to 9:30 a.m.

MONDAY, May 30, 1960.

Session convened at 9:45 a.m. by Chairman Caleb Smith.

Vice-Chairman Briggs assumed chair.

Continuation of Report of Committee on the Constitution.

MOTION: by Caleb Smith. That Art. IV, Sect. 7 of the Constitution provide for a quorum of eleven at National Committee meetings. CARRIED.

MOTION: by Darlington Hoopes. That the number of alternates to the NC be increased from 15 to 20 (Art. IV, Sec. 3). CARRIED.

MOTION: by Darlington Hoopes, Jr. That Art. IX, Sec. 5 be changed to read "Annual dues for members of YPSL who are also members of the Party shall be the same as for other members, except that members of YPSL who are full-time students and not gainfully employed shall pay dues of \$1.00 per year to the SP-SDF. The YPSL shall determine the dues which it will levy." CARRIED.

MOTION: by Seymour Kopilow. To table the further report of the Constitution Committee. CARRIED.

Caleb Smith resumed the chair.

At this point the ballots for the election of the National Committee were distributed, the Chairman gave instructions for voting, and voting was held. Tellers appointed were Kinsey, S. Aranov, Tucker, Craig, A. Pakalns, S. Suall, J. Zell, J. Kopilow, Piakowsky, and Gilpin.

RULING: That ballots containing either more or less than 20 votes, or a vote for Mulford Sibley, who had withdrawn, should be void, without exception.

REPORT of COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION AND FINANCE given by Seymour Steinsapir.

REPORT of COMMITTEE ON PRESS AND EDUCATION given by Rudy Pakalns.

Monday, May 30

- 15 -

Speakers: Ovshinsky and Tucker.

MOTION: by Hilliard Bernstein. That the provision that Hammer and Tongs be brought out from another Local than New York be stricken from the Organization and Finance Committee report. DEFEATED.

Speakers: Kunkin, Stempa, Harrington, Bottone.

MENDMENT to report of Press and Education Committee: Bottone. That the new press will encourage a diversity of socialist opinion. The Party's position will be expressed in editorials while articles can present approaches and analyses which, while consistent with socialist and progressive principles, differ from the official party position. CARRIED.

Speakers: H. Bernstein, S. Steinsapir, Fullerton, and Miller.

MENDMENT: by Miller. That the National Committee be instructed to publish the sample copy of the newspaper within one month. CARRIED.

Speakers: Albright and Wollod.

MOTION: To accept the Reports of the Committees on Organization and Finance and on Press and Education. CARRIED.

REPORT of the COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT NAME given by Morris Polin.

MOTION: from Committee. That the name Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation be retained.

SUBSTITUTE MOTION: by Oppenheimer. That the name be changed to Socialist Party, U.S.A.

SUBSTITUTE MOTION DEFEATED 46-40

Speakers: Zatinsky and Harrington.
MAIN MOTION CARRIED.

MOTION: That the Report of the Committee on Permanent Name be adopted. CARRIED.

MOTION: by Kunkin. That the Convention proceed to the report of the National Secretary; that the discussion of Political Action be tabled; that Political Action be discussed in bi-weekly issues of Hammer and Tongs, to be followed by a referendum on the question. DEFEATED.

MOTION: That Art. XII, Sec. 4, of the Constitution be amended by striking the word "internal" from the designation of Hammer and Tongs. CARRIED 42-36.

REPORT of COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL ACTION by Seymour Kopilow.

MOTION: from Committee: That the resolution "Toward Political Realignment in America: A Socialist Declaration" be adopted. (See appendix.)

SUBSTITUTE MOTION: by Bill Briggs. That the "Resolution on Political Action" as adopted by Local Los Angeles be adopted. (See appendix.)

Monday, May 30

- 16 -

Speakers: Greenberg
Fromm
N. Thomas
Friedman
Smith
Lieberman
Addis
Kunkin
Ovshinsky

Cypin
Garber
Benson
Dombrow
Nash
Bottone
Burnett
Mirmak

AMENDMENT to Main Motion: by Caleb Smith. That references to Democratic Party and Senator Humphrey on p. 9 of the original declaration be deleted. ACCEPTED by the Committee.

At this point the results of the election of the National Committee were announced:

ELECTED

Irwin Suall	1134
Bill Briggs	1064
Sam Friedman	1002
Bob Alexander	892
Dave McReynolds	852
Milt Zatinsky	844
Max Shachtman	816
Mendelson	793
J. Bernstein	761
Seymour Steinsapir	766
Rudy Pakalns	738
Seymour Kopilow	712
T. Robert Yamada	701
Herman Benson	680
Dave Rinne	679
Erich Fromm	641
Ernst Papanek	637
Max Weinrib	633
Hans Peters	605
Walter Weitzmann	561

NOT ELECTED

Jack Cypin	498
Leon Dennen	479
Dale Drews	470
Caleb Smith	421
Morris Polin	416
D. Hoopes, Jr.	372
Henry Addis	346
Nate Sadowsky	278
Fanny Simon	216
Stan Ovshinsky	200
Morris Stempa	177
Bob Koeppicus	173
George Aranov	126
Elsie Ehret	141
Emil Bromberg	77
Mitchell Loeb	77

NOMINATIONS for ELECTION AS ALTERNATE TO NATIONAL COMMITTEE. The following accepted nomination.

Henry Addis
George Aranov
Sam Bottone
Jack Bollens
Hugh Cleland
Jack Cypin
Leon Denne
Dale Drews
Elsie Ehret

Alex Garber
Paul Greenberg
Josef Gutenkauf
Mike Harrington
Jeanne Herrick
Norman Hill
Darlington Hoopes, Jr.
Phyllis Jacobson
Art Kunkin

Al Nash
Marty Oppenheimer
Stan Ovshinsky
Sam Oshry
Carl Schwartz
Caleb Smith
Robert Tucker
Virgil Vogel
Erica Enzer

Monday, May 30

- 17 -

MOTION: by McReynolds. That the qualification of fifteen months membership be suspended in the cases of Bollens and Garber. CARRIED.

Political Perspectives Discussion (Continued.)

Speakers: Cleland
Shute
Draper
Tussing
Zatinsky

Benson
Jacobson
Fried

LECTION OF ALTERNATES TO THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

MOTION: That the National Secretary convey to Comrade Sam Oshry the warmest fraternal greetings of the Convention and best wishes for a rapid recovery. CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY.

MOTION: That the Convention extends its thanks to Washington Local for the excellent work they carried out in arranging for the Convention and the highly successful Dinner. CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY.

Further Speakers on Political Perspectives: Ovshinsky
Cypin
Garber
Dombrow
Bottone
Burnett

Summary for the Main Motion: Kopilow; for the Substitute Motion: Briggs; for the Statement to Party Locals: Oppenheimer.

MOTION: Substitute Motion on Political Action: DEFEATED 34-24-6.
Statement to Party Locals (addition to Main Motion): CARRIED 34-21-6.
Amendment to Main Motion offered by Caleb Smith. CARRIED.
MAIN MOTION on Political Action. CARRIED 41-19-6.

MOTION: To suspend the Order of Business and Adopt the Constitution as amended. CARRIED.

MOTION: To omit the Report of the National Secretary from the Agenda, in view of the fact that the Convention had previously acted on those items in the report calling for action. CARRIED.

ADJOURNED at 3:30 p.m.. Monday, May 30, 1960.

RESOLUTION ON POLITICAL ACTION

Adopted by Local Los Angeles and introduced by Bill Briggs as the Substitute Motion on Political Action at the Convention. DEFEATED.

The pressure of our times has called upon many of our Socialists to attempt to re-evaluate their political positions but also has confirmed our belief in the need for establishing a Socialist economy through democratic political processes.

We therefore propose the following program for the Socialist Party in 1960:

1. We must run a national electoral campaign in 1960. This is necessary for our political survival. Whether or not we alienate certain unionist liberals or progressives can not be the deciding factor.
- 2. The Socialist Party should launch an educational campaign centered about America's need for a new party. Socialists are urged, as individuals acting in labor, cooperative and liberal groups, to agitate and campaign for the formation of a new party based upon a complete break with the old parties.
- 3. No local, state or national committee of the Socialist Party shall be permitted, under any circumstances, to endorse or enter into a coalition campaign or in any other manner assist the election of candidates in either the Republican or Democratic party.
4. No individual party member shall be permitted to endorse or campaign for any other political party, whether or not the Socialist Party has entered the electoral campaign. Our small resources should not be scattered in the support of other parties.
5. Members working in liberal and labor organizations, cooperatives, etc. shall consult with the State and National Committees in order to implement the basic role of Socialists in these organizations.

/ / / / / / / / / /
 / NOTE: The main resolution on political action adopted by the
 / Convention, "Toward Political Realignment in America: A Socialist
 / Declaration," will not be published in these proceedings.
 / Both that resolution and the Platform will be prepared in
 / printed form and sent to all members as soon as possible.
 / Additional copies will also be available on request.

STATEMENT TO PARTY LOCALS ON IMPLEMENTATION AND APPLICATION OF THE
PUBLIC STATEMENT ENTITLED "TOWARD POLITICAL REALIGNMENT IN AMERICA:
A SOCIALIST DECLARATION"

ADOPTED by the Convention.

Since the SP-SDF will not be running a presidential campaign in 1960, it is necessary for us to give exact definition to our attitude toward political action and our relations with the Democratic party.

On the one hand, we must not cut ourselves off from those in the Democratic party who are moving toward a socialist viewpoint. On the other hand, as an independent party with a program and views of our own, we must distinguish ourselves very clearly from liberal apologists for capitalism.

The SP-SDF continues to regard the Democratic party as basically a class party bound organizationally and programmatically to capitalism. We believe that the Democratic party cannot resolve the questions of peace, civil rights, and full employment without a war economy. We are against the view that the Democratic party is a multi-class party to be described only in nonclass terms, as containing "contradictions," as uncommitted to capitalism. We believe that it is not only the Southern wing which represents capitalism, but the Northern political machine as well. We consider the Democratic party as a whole to be fundamentally hostile to the economic and social principles of socialism.

We are for a political realignment of labor and liberals. However, we are not liberals promoting some new form of liberalism; we are socialists seeking democratic socialism. Therefore the type of support we offer to trade union candidates, running under the label of either of the capitalist parties, must be well defined if liquidationist tendencies are not to develop in our party. Socialists cannot agree that simple trade-union rubberstamping of Democratic party candidates is enough to justify our support. We are for labor candidates regardless of their formal party ties only when their candidacies involve a real break with the bureaucratic machinery and political attitudes of the capitalist parties. That is, we continue to oppose so-called labor candidates where, in fact, a capitalist party continues to supply the issues and to run the campaign machinery. We believe it will be possible to recognize labor candidates worthy of socialist support by the fact that their candidacies will foster and encourage new participation by rank and file union members in the political life of the community and nation.

We believe the SP-SDF must launch an educational campaign centered about America's need for a labor party. Socialists are urged, as individuals active in labor, cooperative, and liberal groups, to agitate and campaign for the formation of a new party based upon a complete organizational and programmatic break with the old parties. We maintain that a labor party perspective is not outmoded, as some believe, but on the contrary has been proved to be a real factor in American political life by the recent proposals for independent political action, coming from some unions that are fed up with the treachery of liberal politicians in the Democratic party.

In some areas "grass roots" Democratic party organizations have taken the first steps in breaking with the old national party. It goes without saying that we will support all genuine revolts against the reactionary coalition that leads the national Democratic party, and will not ignore them because they still use the label, "Democratic party."

The members of the SP-SDF will best attract liberal Democrats not by acting as the best of liberals but as the best of socialists in the liberal organizations. We believe that the liberals moving toward socialism are seeking a commitment to democratic socialist principles of economics, politics, and morality; and that the party must provide educational literature to train these people in the principles of socialism.

In the absence of electoral activity in the name of the SP-SDF we believe that a socialist press propagandizing and educating for socialism, and making clear the need for an independent socialist party, is more necessary than ever.

In short, we are for the continuation of the SP-SDF as the traditional opponent of capitalist ideas and capitalist political parties. The great danger in a period of political ferment is that the party lose its own identity and sense of purpose. We believe that any tendencies in this direction must be firmly combatted. We are against the notion that socialism is such a meaningless, irrelevant, abstract idea that it is only spoken of on holiday occasions. We reaffirm our belief that the party can participate best in the many areas of political action, from local electoral activity to work in the liberal organizations, by remaining the voice of socialism.

Some delegates expressed the desire to start publishing the new press even before the bulk of the first year's funds were raised. The convention went on record to publish a pre-issue in one month.

The Press and Education Committee expressed a need for -

- a) Speakers and Specialists Bureau
- b) Educational pamphlets
- c) Newsletter for members

REPORT OF CONVENTION COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

REPORT OF CONVENTION COMMITTEE ON PRESS & EDUCATION

This report has been prepared in two parts so as to more properly present: The publication of a new, popular Party Press is perhaps the most important single organizational project for the SP-SDF in the coming period.

For various reasons, the Fund Drive for the new press slowed to a walk in the recent period. Various locals lived up to their obligations; others did practically nothing. If the paper is to become a reality, the fund drive must begin again in earnest, with a printed brochure for wide circulation.

We believe that a considerable reserve of funds must be established before the press begins. Specifically, we endorse the action of the Special Press Committee in determining to raise the bulk of the first year's funds prior to publication.

1. Speakers Finally, we endorse the general proposal of the Special Press Committee: for a bi-weekly, eight page tabloid written for the activists in the trade union, Civil Rights, peace and other progressive movements.

2. Locals This Convention mandates the National Committee to give top priority to the speedy organization of the new press. We believe that it is an urgent, essential necessity to have the new press by early Fall of 1960. Only in this way can the socialist voice be heard during the election campaign. We therefore urge all locals to redouble their action immediately and to initiate a summer campaign to fulfill their press fund quota.

A standing committee should be established whose main function would be to see that the new press even before the bulk of the first year's funds were raised. The convention went on record to publish a pre-issue in one month.

3. Hammer The Press and Education Committee expressed a need for -

- a) Speakers and Specialists Bureau
 - b) Educational pamphlets
 - c) Newsletter for members
- regularization of its publication were regular and more frequent, it could also serve to allow discussion of organizational problems and an exchange of organizational experiences by members in different parts of the country.

b) If the publication of Hammer & Tongs proves to be too much of a work load for the National Office, consideration can be given to its publication outside of the home office.

REPORT OF CONVENTION COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION
AND FINANCE

This report has been prepared in two parts so as to more properly present its recommendations.

Organization

It is important for the Party to improve communication between the national headquarters and individual locals. In considering this problem the committee attempted to approach the problem with a view toward primarily assessing the needs of small locals and members-at-large.

Our committee did not consider detailed suggestions as to how branches shall conduct their activities.

We recommend the following:

1. Speaker's Bureau

A speaker's bureau should be established in the National Office. The bureau would develop lists of speakers who are available in various parts of the country. These would be made available to Locals, individuals, etc. upon request. Besides establishing such lists, the bureau should attempt to plan tours for several speakers. Such tours could be a source of income both for the National organization and the Local sponsoring groups.

2. National Educational Committee:

A standing committee should be established whose main function would be to prepare background material and discussion outlines on subjects and issues of current interest to the party. This material should cover matters of general socialist concern as well as current political issues.

3. Hammer and Tongs

a) the publication of our discussion bulletin should be regularized. Hammer and Tongs can make a valuable contribution by futhering political discussion - if its publication were regular and more frequent, it could also serve to allow discussion of organizational problems and an exchange of organizational experiences by members in different parts of the country.

b) If the publication of Hammer & Tongs proves to be too much of a work load for the National Office, consideration can be given to its publication outside of the home office.

4) Organizational Bulletin

The Committee recommends that a periodically issued bulletin be sent to all members-at-large and to the members of small locals. This can be used to provide publicity, and build support for current activities. This bulletin should be distributed at least until our new publication is in regular issue, at which time the new publication can include such material.

Finances

The period since our last convention has been a difficult one financially and the coming period may provide even greater financial strains.

Besides raising the funds for operation of the National Office, it will be necessary to raise money to issue the Call and our new publication. Beyond the \$15,000 requirement for the new press, approximately \$31,000 is required for the Call and National Office organizational expenses.

1) Finance Director

One of the prime needs for creating an effective over-all fund raising program is the availability and selection of a Financial Director or fund-raising chairman. The latter should not be involved directly in any one campaign but rather should be concerned with the co-ordination and prodding of the various committees which will be required to do an effective job. The NAC should be instructed by the N.C. not to involve this individual in other activities which would of course detract from his prime responsibility.

2) Speaker's Bureau Chairman

The committee recommends that another member be obtained to serve as director of the Speaker's Bureau which is included in the Organizational recommendations. This individual should be relieved of other party activities in a manner similar to that described for the Finance Director. The efficient operation of a Speaker's Bureau will surely provide income to the National Office.

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

ZONE _____

STATE _____

3) Fund Raising

In order to meet our organizational expenses, our leading committees must assess how we can raise funds, i.e. by what different programs.

The following are areas which should serve to provide the necessary income to support both the party organization and our publications: Sustaining fund, dues, special contributions to National Office, special activity plans and campaigns, lectures, tours, literature sales, and press fund appeals.

Of these the most important is sustaining fund.

Sustaining Fund

It is imperative that an accelerated campaign be carried on to get pledges and payments for party organizational work. It should be readily possible to obtain \$10,000 per year by this method. Each branch and local should designate a "sustaining fund" coordinator whose function will be to get members to pledge to the fund, regularly collect the pledged money, and maintain written and financial contact with the National Office.

We cannot overstate the importance of developing support for this fund among all members and subdivisions of the party.

☐ I want to help build the SP-SDF by joining the Sustaining Fund. I pledge \$_____ per month for the next 12 months.

☐ Enclosed is my first month's contribution.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

ZONE _____

STATE _____

APPENDIX

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Full delegates who attended the Convention.

Arizona

Tuscon: Thomas Bahti

California

East Bay: Ann Draper

Los Angeles: Harry Siitonen

Paul Albright

Bill Briggs

Bernie Bolitzer

Bernard S piro

Dan Schelley

Art Kunkin

Dorothy Bone

San Francisco: Don Thomas

Colorado

Boulder: Alex Garber

Illinois

Norman Hill

Ben Williger

Morris Polin

Earl Herrick

Jeanne Herrick

Dale Drews

Joe Gutenkauf

Max Weinrib

Saul Mendelson

Ray Ahearn

Deborah Meier

Nancy Ahearn

Ken Calkins

Bert Suall

Massachusetts

Leo Leopold

Ruth Leopold

Julius Bernstein

Michigan

Ann Arbor: Luther Buchele

T. Robert Yamada

Charles Van Tassell

Detroit: Stan Ovshinsky

Oscar Pascal

Bruce Miller

Iris Ovshinsky

Minnesota

Minneapolis-St. Paul: Mulford Sibley

Washington, D. C.

Milton Zatinsky

David Tucker

Larry Tepper

Washington (state of)

King County: Arlon Tussing

Rhode Island and Connecticut

Caleb Smith

Tennessee

Garry Fullerton

Virginia

Hilliard Bernstein

Young People's Socialist League

James Burnett

Joan Parnes Suall

Michael Shute

Pittsburgh: Max Kumer

Bernard Chodoff

David Rinne

Bucks: Hans Peters

At-large: Arnold Gault

New Jersey

At-large: Rosalind Roseman
 Central New Jersey: Robert Alexander
 Northern New Jersey: Meyer Piaskowsky
 Archie Lieberman
 Camden: Morris Stempa
 Harry Cleavenger

New York

Local New York:	Norman Thomas	Local Mohawk-Hudson
	Irwin Suall	Carl Schwarz
	Sam Friedman	Richard Logan
	Ernst Papanek	
	David McReynolds	Local Nassau
	Herman Singer	Seymour Kopilow
	Seymour Steinsapir	Nate Sadowsky
	Rudy Pakalns	Henry Addis
	Anna Kofsky	Michael Green
	Edward Selden	
	Ann Koeppicus	Local Suffolk
	Ernest Fleischman	Jack Cypin
	Jacob Goldner	
	Al Nash	
	Eve Stedeli	
	Jack Melhado	
	Austra Pakalns	
	Marty Fried	
	Mordecai Kohn	
	Elsie Ehret	
	George Aranov	
	Sylvia Aranov	
	Vera Steinsapir	
	Rob Tucker	
	Phyllis Jacobson	
	Ruth Dombrow	
	Ann Rosenhaft	
	Harry Blum	
	Eugene Glaberman	

Ohio

Robert Beeler
 Ronald Girkins
 Robert Henes
 - Walter Weitzmann
 Max Wohl
 Sylvia Wohl

Pennsylvania

Philadelphia:	Lillian Mirmak	Pittsburgh:	Max Kumer
	Alex Wollod		Bernard Chodin
	Martin Oppenheimer		David Rinne
Berks:	Darlington Hoopes, Jr.	Bucks:	Hans Peters
	Darlington Hoopes		
	Alfred Eckenrode	At-Large:	Archie Craig
	Harry Longenecker		